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Friday, 19 September 1986,
at 10.10 a.m.

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Humayun Rasheed
CHOUDHURY (Bangladesh).

AGENDA ITEM 6

Question of Namibia (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I draw the attention of the General Assembly to the draft resolution contained in document A/S-14/L.1

2. Mr. LUPINACCI (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I begin, Sir, by expressing to you the congratulations of my delegation on your election as President of the General Assembly. We are very pleased to see you presiding over our work and we pledge our fullest co-operation.

3. As the Secretary-General said in his address at the solemn meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia in observance of Namibia Day, the long, frustrating stagnation on the problem of Namibia is a source of continuing and deep concern to the international community. Year after year the General Assembly and other principal and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations, as well as the non-governmental organizations concerned, must devote their attention to the situation in Namibia.

4. The decision to hold a special session on this question is a further expression of the importance attached to the question and the concern it has aroused.

5. At this stage of the development of international relations nothing can be of greater concern to the international community than violations of the principle of self-determination of peoples and the systematic violation of human rights. Such violations undermine the very foundations of peaceful, organized co-existence among the States and the pillars of international law. There is no more moving example of this than the distressing, unjust situation in Namibia, which is an affront to the conscience of mankind. That Territory is unlawfully occupied and its people are subjugated by the racist régime of South Africa.

6. On 26 August of this year, in a message sent by the Minister of External Relations of Uruguay, Mr. Enrique Iglesias, to the President of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Mr. Paul Lusaka, the Government of Uruguay reaffirmed its unwavering, determined support for the right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence through the holding of free elections, with no exclu-

sions, under the supervision and control of the United Nations in conformity with Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The implementation of that resolution, which proposes a transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations, is being unjustly obstructed by the South African régime, for it has posed inappropriate, unacceptable conditions which have been firmly rejected by the Security Council as incompatible with resolution 435 (1978).

7. The message of our Minister of External Relations goes on to say that for the past two decades the Government of South Africa's delay in reaching a lasting solution to the question of Namibia, in keeping with international law, has been a direct challenge to the will of the international community. The unlawful occupation of Namibia by South Africa and that country's constant failure to abide by United Nations resolutions has unfairly thwarted the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people and Uruguay hopes that those aspirations will be peacefully realized in a very short time.

8. At the same time the Pretoria régime has continued to engage in harsh political repression and has applied against the Namibian people the odious practice of *apartheid*.

9. In keeping with what I have just stated, the Government of Uruguay reaffirms at this special session its position based on the following points. We most decisively and unreservedly support the self-determination of the Namibian people and their inalienable right to create a free and independent State. We demand that at all times the territorial integrity of the new State be respected and that its sovereignty over Walvis Bay, which is indissolubly linked to Namibia by geographical, historical, economic, cultural and ethnic bonds be recognized, as reaffirmed in various resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. We strongly support the relevant resolutions of the various United Nations bodies, specifically Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), embodying the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the sole internationally accepted basis for a just solution of the question. We demand that the plan be implemented immediately, without conditions, and we propose to co-operate within the United Nations as broadly as possible in an effort to attain the objectives laid down in those resolutions in a peaceful manner, without delay and in keeping with international law. Similarly, we support the work of the United Nations Council for Namibia, the sole authentic authority recognized by the international community as empowered to administer the Territory of Namibia.

10. My delegation would like to emphasize that the General Assembly approved the decision taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia to proclaim an exclusive economic zone of 200 miles for Namibia [*resolution 40/97 A, para. 58*] and we also support that decision. We endorse the Assembly's vigorous condemnation of the South African régime for using the Territory of Namibia as a base for invasions and armed incursions and for continuing other acts of aggression against neighbouring African countries. These acts, in addition to being flagrant violations of international law, increase tension in the area and are genuine threats to international peace and security.

11. My delegation hopes that at this special session on the question of Namibia vigorous momentum will be given to the process leading to the free and effective exercise by the Namibian people of their right to self-determination, in accordance with resolution 435 (1978).

12. Each time these aims are reaffirmed, it helps to heighten the awareness of the peoples of the world of this situation, and to deepen the commitments that Governments ought to assume in the light of the views of their own peoples. In particular, the members of the Security Council have an obligation to assume their responsibilities in order to ensure the full and speedy implementation of the resolutions of that body, which lay down the proper conditions for a just, worthy, comprehensive and final settlement.

13. All these difficulties must not intimidate us, for we are fully aware of the justice of our cause, and justice will always triumph. But we must do all we can to see that there is no further delay.

14. Mr. YAQUB-KHAN (Pakistan): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to extend to you our warm and sincere felicitations on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session and at this fourteenth special session on the question of Namibia. Pakistan and Bangladesh enjoy a very special fraternal relationship, strongly rooted in shared historical experience and reinforced by unbreakable ties of culture and faith, as well as a common perception of major international issues. Your election, Mr. President, is therefore a cause for particular satisfaction to Pakistan. We are confident that your great experience, diplomatic skills and qualities of statesmanship will enrich our deliberations and enable this special session to bring Namibia closer to independence and the achievement of sovereign national identity. Please be assured of the fullest co-operation of my delegation at all times.

15. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Mr. Jaime de Pinies for the wise and able manner in which he guided the work of the fortieth session of the General Assembly. His charm and unfailing courtesy facilitated our task.

16. For the second time in less than six years the General Assembly is convened in a special session, to consider the question of Namibia, which reflects the profound concern with which the international community views the continued illegal occupation of Namibia and the oppression of its people by the racist Pretoria régime.

17. Forty years ago, the people of Pakistan were engaged in a similar struggle for independence and national identity. In April 1946, more than a year before that goal was achieved, the Moslem League, meeting under its President and the founder of our country, Quaid-I-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, adopted a resolution expressing sympathy for the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for liberty and equality. Ever since Pakistan achieved independence, through the exercise of the right of self-determination, it has consistently been in the forefront of the historic endeavour to eliminate colonialism and exploitation from the world.

18. Twenty years ago, in the face of Pretoria's refusal to comply with the terms of its Mandate over Namibia, the General Assembly terminated that Mandate [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*] in order to affirm the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence. Three years later, the Security Council, in its resolution 264 (1969), declared South Africa's continued presence in the Territory illegal. The advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 1971,¹ while endorsing the actions of the General Assembly, stated that States were under an obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's continued presence in Namibia and the invalidity of its acts on behalf of, or concerning, that Territory.

19. Eight years ago the Security Council, on the initiative of its five Western members, adopted resolution 435 (1978), which embodies a set of proposals designed to engage South Africa in a process of negotiations for its withdrawal from Namibia and for the Territory to accede to independence, following free and fair elections. South Africa accepted this plan for Namibia's independence. However, it has utilized every opportunity to frustrate the implementation of resolution 435 (1978) on one pretext or another. The latest in its dilatory tactics is its demand for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola as a pre-condition for Namibia's independence. This extraneous linkage has been rejected by the Security Council and by almost the entire membership of the United Nations.

20. The Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization,² stated that "all the conditions for implementation of the United Nations plan for Namibia laid down by the Security Council had been met and that the problem of Namibia was ripe for solution. The international community unanimously concurs with this viewpoint, as is evident from the results of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna in July this year, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at its twenty-second ordinary session, held at Addis Ababa, also in July this year, and the Eighth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare this month.

21. Only the intransigence and defiance of the racist South African régime thwart the achievement of freedom and liberty by the valiant people of Namibia which is indispensable for the peace and security of the region.

22. Demanding the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), the General Assembly, at its eighth emergency special session, in 1981, also called upon all States to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa [resolution ES-8/2]. Regrettably, similar proposals in the Security Council have been vetoed by the very countries whose proposals form the core of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. Some members of the Security Council cannot escape responsibility for encouraging South Africa to flout the decisions of the United Nations or for the delay in the independence of Namibia and the consequent suffering and deprivation of the people of Namibia at the hands of the Pretoria régime.

23. The international community is fully aware of the campaign of repression and intimidation unleashed in Namibia by the Pretoria régime. The activities of the régime's special task force have spread fear and death; its growing military deployment in Namibia is the source of terrorism and aggression in the entire region. It is clear that the South African régime is determined to maintain its colonial stranglehold over Namibia in order to continue the plunder of its rich natural resources and the policy of aggression and destabilization against neighbouring front-line African States.

24. This special session must be the harbinger of the early independence of Namibia. Drawing on the decisions of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, this special session must develop a consensus strategy for Namibia's liberation, based on a comprehensive approach.

25. The General Assembly must carry out the mandate it took upon itself, and the Security Council must fulfil without further delay its promise to the Namibian people by reiterating that the United Nations plan as embodied in Council resolution 435 (1978) is the only acceptable basis for Namibia's independence and by setting a deadline for its full and unconditional implementation.

26. It should be recognized that Namibia's independence is a question of decolonization, which cannot be linked with any aspect of East-West confrontation.

27. South Africa's dilatory tactics and aggressive actions demand that the world community exert firm pressure to oblige Pretoria to reconsider its policy. The special session must reaffirm that the imposition of comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations is the best political means available to effect a peaceful change in South Africa's policies.

28. The five Western States responsible for the elaboration of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia must accept a special responsibility for the attainment of this objective. Their continued tolerance of South Africa's tactics will only delay the achievement of Namibia's freedom and aggravate the danger to peace and security in the entire southern African region.

29. The conscience of the common man in almost every country has at last been aroused by the inhuman policies of the racist régime in Pretoria. The United Nations must reinforce its efforts to bring home to peoples all over the world the oppressive and exploitative nature of South Africa's racist and colonial policies, so that nations which espouse the ideals of democracy and human rights do not stand aside from the struggle for equality, dignity and freedom in South Africa.

30. In the coming months the régime in Pretoria can be expected to intensify its aggression and intervention against the front-line African States. The imposition of sanctions will also hurt their economies. The United Nations and its agencies, as well as Member States, should extend support to the front-line States directly, as well as through the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference.

31. In the ultimate analysis, the struggle for Namibia's independence will be waged and won by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole, authentic national liberation movement of Namibia. The courage, sagacity and patience with which Mr. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, has guided the struggle of the Namibian people are worthy of admiration and respect. SWAPO must be given unswerving support, both moral and material, to wage its noble crusade for freedom.

32. It is evident that, if peaceful means cannot persuade Pretoria to change its policies, militant resistance and struggle will escalate. For the Namibian people it will be a hard struggle calling for sacrifice and strength, but their determination should never be in doubt. Mr. Toivo, one of the founders of SWAPO, spoke eloquently and defiantly from the dock at the time of his trial when he said,

"I know that the struggle will be long and bitter. I also know that my people will wage that struggle whatever the cost.

"Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop. Only when our human dignity is restored to us, as equals of the whites, will there be peace between us."³

33. As both a State Member of the United Nations and a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, Pakistan will continue to make every effort to accelerate Namibia's accession to independence. We salute the heroism of the people of Namibia and shall stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their struggle until liberty triumphs and the flag of a free Namibia is unfurled.

34. The PRESIDENT: I have to inform members that I have received a request from the Chairman of the Group of African States that a representative of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania be permitted to address the Assembly at its fourteenth special session. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to that request?

It was so decided.

35. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia): May I, at the outset, Sir, extend to you my congratulations on your election to the post of President of the General Assembly at this special session on an extraordinarily important issue, the liberation of Namibia.

36. We are witnessing an incredible paradox: on the one hand, the flowering of human genius, the vast increase in scientific discoveries, the wonders of technology, ever-new improvements in computers, the conquest of outer space by man; on the other hand, one of the last dark residues of the medieval past: the politics of violence, colonialism, racism practised against the people of Namibia, the politics of alien domination and plundering of lands, whose area far exceeds the territory of former colonial Powers. This tragedy has been continuing for several generations. It started 100 years ago with the massacre by the mercenaries of Kaiser Wilhelm II of 100,000 men, women and children. Today it continues with the genocide of Namibian patriots perpetrated by the mercenaries of the South African régime.

37. Is it not a paradox that for 20 years now Pretoria has completely ignored the decision of the General Assembly by which South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]? Indeed, Pretoria has not shown the slightest inclination to put an end to its unlawful occupation, unworthy of twentieth-century civilization. Pretoria systematically flouts the resolutions of this, the most universal of organizations; it shamelessly ignores the most fundamental norms of international law; it refuses to meet the demands of the international community.

38. Namibia remains a victim of colonialism. Its people suffer from hunger, poverty and from all the other evils of colonial politics in its most brutal form; also, it has a high infant mortality rate. At the same time, however, Namibia has become a symbol of the heroism of a people longing for freedom. The participation of a wide sector of the population in demonstrations against the occupying régime is growing. The combat operations of the Namibians, under the leadership of SWAPO, are gaining strength. Despite the increasing reprisals and aggressiveness of the régime, the people of Namibia cannot be stopped.

39. We in Czechoslovakia have our own tragic experience of 300 years of national oppression, as well as our experience of a national liberation struggle against nazism. That is why we well understand the aspirations of the people of Namibia. From the very beginning we have been supporting their just struggle. We are in favour of the exercise by the Namibian people of their vested rights to self-determination, freedom and national independence with the territorial integrity of the country intact, including the port of Walvis Bay and the offshore islands.

40. We consider the decolonization of Namibia to be one of the most urgent tasks of this time. The moral obligation of the international community is to do everything possible to achieve that goal. It is duty-bound to contribute to the final victory of the Namibian people.

41. It was in the same spirit that we spoke at the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris in June this year. That was also the case at the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna this year. The Declaration adopted, as well as the Programme of Action,⁴ emphasized the necessity of securing immediate and unconditional independence for Namibia. Those documents also confirmed the legitimate right of the people of that country to wage a struggle for their freedom by all available means, including armed struggle. It is significant that the neo-colonialist designs for the solution of this question were rejected. The main purpose of the Conference was fulfilled: to mobilize international support for the struggle of the people of Namibia.

42. In this connection we welcome the powerful impetus given by the recent Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare. The policy of "constructive engagement" towards racists was condemned by that highly respected forum and all neo-colonialist manoeuvres were rejected. We appreciate the concrete character and the boldness of the conclusions of the Conference. We support the obligation to impose sanctions on South Africa. It will be useful to establish an assistance fund for the front-line States.

43. This special session of the General Assembly is undoubtedly a wise act of statesmanship. It may seem that too many sessions are held on a single issue, however, we consider the frequency of these sessions wholly necessary. Realities which demand action must not be ignored; delays must not be tolerated. International efforts must not be relaxed. No time or effort must be spared until the Namibian people is genuinely free. We bear a political and moral responsibility towards them.

44. This special session should discourage attempts to solve the question of Namibia outside the United Nations framework. We are strongly against imposing a puppet government upon the people of Namibia. We reject making the granting of independence conditional on such issues as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. In other words, we stand against all neo-colonialist subterfuge.

45. We believe that this special session should condemn the violation of the fundamental human rights of the people of Namibia by the Pretoria régime. In addition, we deplore the acts of aggression perpetrated from the territory of Namibia against neighbouring independent African countries, particularly against Angola.

46. We have to state, with bitterness, that the efforts of the United Nations as well as those of the international community aimed at solving the question of Namibia have failed so far. The brutal, barbarous racist war continues. We have to ask, Why? How is it possible for Pretoria cynically to mock the authority of the United Nations? How dare it ignore the opinions of the overwhelming majority of people? How is it possible that the Pretoria régime can act in this way? The answer is that it is able to do so thanks to the selfish interests of multinational monopolies that are exploiting the wealth of Namibia; it is able to do so thanks to the strategic plans of

militaristic circles in the West that see Namibia as an important base in the Atlantic. It is the global ambitions of imperialism which correspond with the interests of the South African leaders. That is why they are so willing to perform the odious roles of both self-appointed judge and executioner.

47. That base policy would have no chance of surviving but for another equally shameful fact: some States Members of the United Nations deliberately flout the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the Security Council in its resolution 418 (1977). That is what has helped fully to arm the repressive machinery of the Pretoria régime. Moreover, it also stimulates continuing close co-operation with South Africa in nuclear matters.

48. Western countries also support the Pretoria régime economically, by maintaining trade relations with it. Thus we witness double standards. In words they condemn the régime. In deeds they support it, as if they fail to see that supporting an aggressor is never rewarded. A spark from the South African conflict could easily ignite conflicts in other regions.

49. We recommend that the special session once more invite the States that still co-operate with the Pretoria régime to stop at once. We call for the immediate adoption by the Security Council of comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. It is indeed high time that all Security Council members listened to the united voice of the international community and made possible the adoption of such effective measures against the *apartheid* régime. As has been said many times, those who did not hesitate to announce, within a few hours of the alleged problem, sanctions against Cuba and Nicaragua are now, in the case of Pretoria, looking for pretexts to render such sanctions impossible, to delay them and to minimize their importance. Matters are being drawn out endlessly; contours are being deliberately blurred; legal loop-holes and devious formulations are constantly being sought.

50. Hypocritically, but in full accordance with some interests in the region, it is stated that sanctions would be a retrograde step which would bring hardship and poverty to the people of South Africa and would be an immoral solution or an empty gesture. Such arguments are laughable. The days of the régime of *apartheid* are numbered.

51. May I take this opportunity to reaffirm Czechoslovakia's unswerving solidarity with the people of Namibia, led by their sole, authentic and legitimate representative, SWAPO, and my country's readiness to continue to provide all-round support for their just cause.

52. To conclude, I wish to underline once more that we are fully determined to continue our active participation in all effective steps taken by the United Nations towards the independence of Namibia.

53. Mr. VÄYRYNEN (Finland): May I offer you, Sir, my congratulations on your election to the important post of President of the General Assembly at this special session on Namibia.

54. All the participants in the debate at this special session have reminded the world of the illegality of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa during the past 20 years. Eight years ago the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978) embodying the United Nations plan for Namibia's independence.

55. Namibia has become a symbol of the fight against foreign domination, exploitation and inhumanity. It has become a question of credibility. If violence, senseless killing, oppression and intimidation are allowed to continue, Namibia will become a symbol of failure to implement internationally agreed decisions. Only one outcome is acceptable: the Namibian people must be permitted to determine their own future through free and fair elections.

56. The Secretary-General deserves our full support in his endeavours to begin implementing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which includes United Nations supervision and control of elections in Namibia. We agree with him that, following the agreement reached last November on the electoral system, all outstanding issues relevant to the plan have been resolved. Implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which is the universally agreed basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question, should start without further delay. No pretext for putting new obstacles in the way of independence for Namibia can be accepted. Linkage to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola is unacceptable. So is the establishment by South Africa in 1985 of the so-called interim government in Namibia or any other unilateral solution, in contravention of resolution 435 (1978).

57. The recommendations contained in the Programme of Action on Namibia,⁴ adopted at Vienna last July should form the basis for further action. It is also important to mobilize public opinion in support of fresh action to gain Namibia's independence. The comprehensive study *Namibia: Perspectives for National Reconstruction and Development* published by the United Nations Institute for Namibia contains a number of useful ideas in this respect.

58. It is extremely important to continue and intensify work for the development of economic, social and educational institutions supporting Namibia's future independence. Finland's continuing dedication to the cause of the people of Namibia is manifested in our annual contributions to the United Nations Fund for Namibia, the United Nations Institute for Namibia and the Nationhood Programme for Namibia. In addition, we support the Namibian Extension Unit.

59. As an example of our concrete activities, Finland has for several years allocated funds for education, training and health programmes carried out in Finland in close co-operation with SWAPO. Several courses in the field of technical, social and vocational training are going on. Currently there are 60 Namibian students studying in Finland, many of them in universities. In participating in these activities we are looking towards the future, towards an independent Namibia. Our objective is to contribute to the immediate needs of education and personnel training of the new nation at the time of its independence.

60. The question of the independence of Namibia is not only a burning political problem, but it also has economic, social and human dimensions. The economic exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia under colonial rule has been devastating. The basic human rights of Namibians continue to be violated. Despite Namibia's natural wealth, its economy is in severe crisis. Unemployment and poor education and health services overshadow the lives of Namibians.

61. Finland calls for increased humanitarian assistance to SWAPO, to Namibian refugees and to other victims of the illegal occupation and repression by South Africa. Intensified pressure should be brought to bear upon the South African Government to release Namibian political prisoners and to allow SWAPO to function within the borders of Namibia.

62. In the United Nations the question of Namibia is a primary issue in its own right. The present focus on the internal situation in South Africa and on the repression being practised by the South African *apartheid* régime should not divert our attention from the importance of international support for the Namibian people. The international community's action against *apartheid* and its action to bring about the independence of Namibia must run in parallel.

63. Finland has consistently worked for the imposition of sanctions by the Security Council to intensify international pressure for peaceful change in South Africa. The same pressure must be applied to realize the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia.

64. An early convening of the Security Council to decide upon effective sanctions is of the utmost importance. Only a substantial resolution effectively implemented can be considered a successful outcome of the Council's meeting. With that as a realistic objective, Finland, with the other Nordic countries, will actively seek new initiatives to that end. We urge those permanent members of the Security Council whose concurrence is still needed for the imposition of sanctions to reconsider their position.

65. Those that oppose sanctions refer to the hardships sanctions would create for the Blacks in South Africa, Namibia and neighbouring States. This argument is not persuasive. The international community has assumed a special responsibility to increase its moral and material support for the people of Namibia.

66. One of the focal points in the rapidly expanding co-operation with the neighbouring and front-line States, within the framework of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, is the need to increase the economic strength of those States and reduce their dependence on South Africa. If South Africa resorts to any reprisals against its neighbouring States, it will be the responsibility of the international community to counteract such measures comprehensively and effectively.

67. We are fully justified in expecting all members of the Security Council to recognize their responsibility. We are justified in demanding decisive action without any delay. That justification is founded on

the appeals of the oppressed people of Namibia, for whom the United Nations is the only hope for peace, freedom and independence. It is imperative that the international community use this opportunity to send a clear message of support to the people of Namibia.

68. Mr. DIZDAREVIĆ (Yugoslavia): I wish at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of this special session of the General Assembly. Your selection is a fitting comment on Bangladesh's dedication to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the policy of non-alignment.

69. I am greatly honoured that Yugoslavia is among the non-aligned countries entrusted with conveying the messages and conclusions of the recent Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of the independence of Namibia.

70. The message of the Harare summit meeting is clear and unequivocal: independence for the people of Namibia, immediate and unconditional independence without further delay, and implementation of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which contain measures and objectives accepted by the entire international community for the peaceful solution of the question.

71. The message from the summit meeting of non-aligned countries is unmistakable: the solution to the question of Namibia must be found in independence, not in domination; in equality, not exploitation; in co-operation, not confrontation. With that aim in mind, they are determined to support the legitimate aspirations and rights of the Namibian people. That support is expressly stated in their Political Declaration,⁵ which condemns the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist régime of South Africa and the use of Namibian territory for acts of aggression against neighbouring countries, in particular Angola. The non-aligned countries are requesting effective isolation of the racist régime through the severance of all relations with it and the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions that will compel the racist régime of South Africa fully to abolish the shameful *apartheid* system.

72. In the special appeal by the eighth summit conference of the non-aligned movement for the immediate independence of Namibia,⁵ the heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries urged the international community, *inter alia*, to render all-round material, political and diplomatic support to the struggle of the Namibian people for their liberation, under the leadership of their sole, legitimate representative, SWAPO. At the same time, they called upon the Secretary-General to intensify his efforts to ensure implementation of United Nations decisions and recommended that the international mass media report objectively about the plight of the Namibian people. The requests contained in the Political Declaration, including in the special appeal reiterate the action-oriented support of the non-aligned countries for the just struggle of the Namibian people.

73. Can the world, the great Powers and particularly the Security Council remain passive and indifferent to the terror and unscrupulous exploitation to which the people of Namibia are exposed? The South African authorities' treatment of the Namibian people and of the vast majority of the population in their own country constitutes the most flagrant and gross violation of human rights. Is it necessary to recall once again that such developments in Namibia and southern Africa inevitably lead to mass bloodshed and dangerous aggravation of international relations over all?

74. The hopes of mankind for an early independence of Namibia increased with the adoption of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978) which embody the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. However, eight years have elapsed since the adoption of resolution 435 (1978), and the implementation of the plan has not even started. Unfortunately, we are all aware of the reasons why the United Nations decisions remain unimplemented. A country that defies the will of the whole international community must not remain unpunished. The Charter of the United Nations contains explicit provisions, not made use of thus far, on the measures the world Organization can resort to if world peace is threatened or violated or if acts of aggression occur. All the proposals and just demands of the vast majority of Member States for sanctions have always had the same outcome in the Security Council—the veto of one, two or three permanent members. Thus, the aggressor and oppressor in southern Africa enjoys the protection of some countries which, under the Charter, bear special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. However, there can be no justification or pretext, linkage or other, for further postponement of the implementation of resolution 435 (1978), which is the responsibility of the Security Council.

75. How much longer must the Namibian people suffer and make sacrifices for their freedom? Patience has worn thin. The international community must now take, more than ever before, all available measures in a more concerted and resolute manner finally to ensure the freedom of the Namibian people. All actions taken prior to this session testify to the fact that the conditions for attainment of independence by Namibia as early as this year have been fulfilled.

76. This was the request of the eighth summit of Non-Aligned Countries. This is, furthermore, the request of a number of other important international meetings devoted to the question of Namibia. I shall only mention the Second Brussels International Conference on Namibia and the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia held at Vienna. This has for years been the demand of the broadest democratic public opinion of the world. This special session, the third on Namibia in the history of the United Nations, is only a logical outcome of such wide-ranging international action. Let us make it the last.

77. All non-aligned countries, and the vast majority of others, believe that this special session must take a decisive step forward in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). The mechanism of the United

Nations plan, accepted by all the parties concerned and the whole international community, must finally be set in motion.

78. In order to do so, this session must forcefully request both South Africa and the countries which bear special responsibility for international peace and security to take immediate measures for the implementation of the United Nations plan. This is a request made in the name of the fundamental principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and of the most essential principles of humanity and justice. If, by adopting the Charter, we all committed ourselves to a world of equitable co-operation, can narrow economic or other interests in southern Africa be more important than the solution of the Namibian problem and the contribution it would make to the improvement of international relations and relaxation of international tensions?

79. These countries should, therefore, be called upon to ensure both within the Security Council and in their policy towards South Africa the immediate implementation of the United Nations plan. They are capable of doing so and the responsibility rests with them.

80. This session should reject once again the attempts by South Africa to impose the so-called internal solution and thus circumvent the provisions of resolution 435 (1978). Yugoslavia, as well as other countries, strongly condemned South Africa last year for the establishment of the so-called interim or transitional government. Such attempts are aimed at excluding the sole, legitimate representative of the Namibian people, SWAPO, from the process of self-determination, and at imposing the puppet régime to ensure colonial domination of South Africa in Namibia and unhampered exploitation of that country's natural resources in the future.

81. For its part, Yugoslavia will strictly abide by all the decisions adopted at this session as it has done in the past and, within its limits, will render every assistance and support to SWAPO and the front-line States. My country remains prepared to contribute to the establishment of UNTAG troops so that the process of the independence of Namibia may be embarked upon as soon as the mechanism of the United Nations plan becomes operational.

82. I am convinced that I express the view of all members present in saying that we must not allow Namibia to languish in slavery and exploitation any longer. Namibia's place is here, among us, as a free and independent country. I hope that we shall not have to wait long for that.

83. As stated in the special appeal launched at Harare,⁵ the time for Namibian independence is long past and any further delay is immoral.

84. Mr. FISCHER (German Democratic Republic):* Mr. President, I should like to offer you, a representative of a friendly non-aligned country, my warm congratulations on your election. It is my privilege to convey to you greetings and best wishes from Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the

*Mr. Fischer spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, who, in his message to this special session, expressed the hope that it would provide a forceful impetus for Namibia's independence, which must be obtained now.

85. The unresolved question of Namibia is an essential element of the explosive situation in southern Africa. The causes which led to the termination of South Africa's Mandate over the Territory 20 years ago have not been removed—the situation has even worsened. The colonial occupation of that country by the Republic of South Africa, the brutal oppression of the Namibian people, including the imposition of the *apartheid* laws, the plundering of its natural and human resources for greed and profit by the colonial Power and by the 335 transnational corporations operating in Namibia, in a word the continued existence of colonialism in its most sinister manifestations, cannot but present a challenge to the international community of nations. The Territory of Namibia has been abused by the Republic of South Africa as a springboard for constant acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and other neighbouring African sovereign States. South Africa is thus threatening world peace and international security. This calls for determined action by the international community, in particular by the United Nations.

86. The road travelled since the founding of the Organization, though sometimes bumpy, was one of success. The great triumph of the peoples' struggle for liberation gives us confidence that Namibia too will gain its independence.

87. The Republic of South Africa is the main obstacle in the way of the achievement of that goal. Since it receives political, economic and military backing from some States which are known to the General Assembly, it can again and again challenge world public opinion. That aid is manifest in the activities of well over 3,000 corporations operating in South Africa, in credits amounting to billions, in capital investments, the supply of the most advanced technology, including nuclear equipment, in the circumvention of the arms embargo, and last but not least in the repeated abuse of the veto in the Security Council in order to prevent the adoption of sanctions against the aggressor as provided for in the Charter of the United Nations. Comprehensive sanctions, observed by all States, would politically isolate the Pretoria régime, considerably weaken its economy, and put a stop to the backing of the racists by the transnational corporations.

88. Now, more than at any time in the past, very many States, governments, organizations and individual personalities call for sanctions against the *apartheid* régime.

89. Just as the World Conference on Sanctions against Racist South Africa, held in Paris, the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, held at Vienna, the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare, and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Addis Ababa, insisted

on determined action against Pretoria, the overwhelming majority of nations are unanimous in their view that it is not conciliatory appeals but only international pressure that can, and therefore must, be brought to bear on the South African minority régime to force it to abandon its policies of State terrorism and racism. The German Democratic Republic wholeheartedly endorses the view of the newly elected Chairman of the OAU, Denis Sassou-Nguesso, that only deeds and not words will defeat the racists in South Africa. Those who so far have hindered the Security Council from adopting corresponding decisions obviously place their stake in the present state of affairs rather than in the right of peoples to independence and self-determination.

90. The International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia called the policy of "constructive engagement" and Western collaboration with Pretoria an obstacle on Namibia's road to independence. We agree with this view.

91. The proposals of the People's Republic of Angola and of the front-line States and the attitude of SWAPO are constructive, flexible and conducive to a swift settlement of the conflict. They are highly commended by international public opinion. The socialist, the non-aligned and an ever-increasing number of other States effectively support this consistent approach designed to eliminate that focus of crisis.

92. It is now imperative to end all obstructionist policies so that the United Nations can fully meet its responsibility for the settlement of the question of Namibia; and to discontinue forthwith all collaboration with the *apartheid* régime as well as aid and support for subversive bandits; it is imperative that the Security Council impose comprehensive and binding sanctions against the racist régime in South Africa, and that it determinedly enforce its decisions; and it is imperative strictly to comply with, and verify, the sanctions adopted, in particular the arms embargo; and to give all-round support to the front-line States and SWAPO in their just struggle for peace, independence and stability.

93. An heir to the great traditions of German revolutionary working-class struggles against colonial politics and colonial exploitation, the German Democratic Republic stands side by side with the peoples in the south of the African continent which are fighting a battle for freedom, peace and sovereignty. Opposition to colonialism, racism and *apartheid* has been an essential element of policy for the socialist German State ever since its inception. And this is one reason why SWAPO has an official mission in the German Democratic Republic.

94. The German Democratic Republic most strongly condemns the *apartheid* régime because it is inhuman and a threat to peace. My country shares the view that *apartheid*—the shame of the century—needs to be eliminated rather than reformed. We are in favour of the unconditional implementation of United Nations decisions on Namibia in their entirety and have stated our readiness to co-operate actively in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia. For many years the German Democratic Republic has accorded

diverse and extensive assistance to the national liberation movements and to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia whom they represent. This includes, in particular, humanitarian aid for Namibian refugees and for persons who have fled from persecution by the racist régime in South Africa, medical care for wounded freedom fighters, vocational and professional education of personnel, and other services. The German Democratic Republic sees political, moral, material and humanitarian assistance to the peoples of southern Africa and to their liberation movements as a concrete contribution to peace, security, co-operation and development in the region.

95. This year in particular, the International Year of Peace, all are called upon to redouble their efforts so that independence for Namibia will be achieved without further delay or reservations, and a climate of enduring security will be established in southern Africa. What matters is a life of happiness for all peoples.

96. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): Sir, allow me first of all to congratulate you, on behalf of the delegation of Cyprus, on your well deserved election to the presidency of the forty-first session of the General Assembly. We are confident that, with your wide experience in international affairs and your diplomatic skills, you will guide this session to a successful conclusion.

97. It is most regrettable that 20 years after the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and the assumption by the United Nations of the direct responsibility for the Territory, South Africa continues the illegal occupation of Namibia in flagrant violation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) and of all subsequent relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

98. We interpret the decision of the General Assembly to convene this special session [*resolution 40/97 F*] for the purpose of considering the question of Namibia as a clear indication of the determination of the international community further to intensify its efforts to ensure the speedy exercise of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence in a united Namibia.

99. The international community has repeatedly, over the years, expressed its grave concern at the continued illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa, which constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people.

100. Most recently, the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries adopted a special appeal⁵ in which it called for opposition to any delay in securing the independence of Namibia and for all-round material, political and diplomatic support for the struggle being waged by SWAPO.

101. In addition, the International Conference for the *Immediate Independence of Namibia* adopted a Declaration and a Programme of Action,⁴ in which it expressed full support for the struggle of the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, called for the immediate implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and condemned South

Africa for its refusal to abide by the relevant United Nations resolutions.

102. Cyprus fully endorses the special appeal of the summit meeting of non-aligned countries and the Declaration and the Programme of Action of the Conference held at Vienna, as well as the Programme of Action⁶ adopted at the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries on the question of Namibia, held at New Delhi from 19 to 21 April 1985. We shall spare no effort in promoting the just cause of the people of Namibia on every appropriate occasion and in extending all possible aid to SWAPO.

103. Long before its subjection to foreign aggression and the occupation of 37 per cent of its territory by a powerful neighbouring State, Cyprus stood firmly by the side of the Namibian people and of all peoples around the world struggling for independence, freedom and self-determination. We have consistently condemned South Africa for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and for its disregard for all relevant United Nations resolutions. Our support for the people of Namibia and for SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, has been consistent and unwavering. We have repeatedly maintained that the independence of Namibia can be achieved only on the basis of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia as embodied in Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which constitute the only acceptable basis for a lasting settlement of the question of Namibia. We have firmly rejected the attempts by South Africa to link the independence of Namibia with extraneous and irrelevant issues and have given our full support to the Namibian people in their just and legitimate struggle for freedom and national independence under the leadership of SWAPO.

104. In this respect, we should like to commend the leadership of SWAPO for the co-operation shown in the search for a just and negotiated resolution of the Namibian question and for its readiness to sign a cease-fire agreement with the South African régime in order to set in motion the election process in Namibia under United Nations supervision. In contrast to the conciliatory position adopted by SWAPO, the Pretoria régime has persistently tried to prevent implementation of the United Nations plan and has also intensified its efforts to impose an internal settlement in Namibia by promoting puppet political institutions.

105. We firmly reject the attempts by the Pretoria régime to delay the independence of Namibia and we support all efforts to bring pressure to bear upon South Africa to abandon its tactics, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

106. Instead of complying with the relevant United Nations resolutions and decisions, the South African régime continues to plunder Namibia's natural resources in violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia,⁷ enacted by the United Nations Council for Namibia, the legal Administering Authority for the Territory until its independence. Moreover, the Pretoria régime con-

tinues to use Namibia as a springboard for launching armed attacks and for carrying out acts of destabilization against the front-line States.

107. We strongly condemn such actions, which are not simply indicative of South Africa's contempt for the international community and international law but which also seriously undermine the prestige of the United Nations.

108. Cyprus, as a State Member of the United Nations and a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations Council for Namibia, will continue to exert all possible efforts to achieve the early independence of Namibia. We shall most actively promote the just cause of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence in a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands and other offshore islands.

109. The heroic people of Namibia, under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, SWAPO, have fought valiantly for the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination and national independence. Their struggle is also our struggle. Their victory will also be our victory, which in fact is the victory of the principles on which the Organization is based.

110. Mr. AGUILAR-HECHT (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am very pleased to extend to you, Sir, my delegation's special greetings and to express our pleasure at seeing you preside over this special session of the General Assembly. We are sure that with your skill and knowledge of the subject you will help us achieve a satisfactory solution to this question.

111. The United Nations has played a crucial role in fulfilling its functions, especially in connection with the process of decolonization. It has given its support and assistance to all newly independent countries, which have been welcomed to the Organization, so that they might take control of their own affairs and undertake in an orderly fashion their economic and social development. The job is unfinished, there are still vestiges of colonialism, but we hope that these matters will be resolved constructively as in the past few years.

112. Unfortunately, one question is still pending and the international community demands its speedy settlement. I refer to the question of Namibia, a Territory for which the United Nations has a direct and inescapable responsibility. During the past 20 years the General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted a number of resolutions on Namibia, which have not, however, been implemented and have been ignored by South Africa, notwithstanding the fact that the conditions established by the Security Council for the independence of Namibia have been completely fulfilled.

113. In spite of this, Namibia continues to be illegally occupied by South Africa and its people to be subjected to the abominable system of *apartheid*, which constitutes the most serious violation of the human rights of the majority of the population and has been repudiated by the whole international community.

114. Guatemala believes that enough time has passed and that all possible ways of bringing about a peaceful, orderly transition to the independence of Namibia, with its territorial integrity intact, have been explored. We are more convinced than ever of the validity of the resolutions adopted by the Organization. We recognize the fact that the United Nations has direct responsibility for Namibia, a responsibility it assumed with the adoption by the General Assembly of resolution 2145 (XXI), which terminated South Africa's Mandate over Namibia; that by its resolutions 2248 (S-V) and 2372 (XXII), respectively, the Assembly established the United Nations Council for Namibia and recommended that the Security Council urgently take measures, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to ensure South Africa's immediate withdrawal from Namibia and secure independence for the Territory. We commend and support the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia in fulfilling its mandate.

115. The international community cannot and should not remain silent in the face of South Africa's persistence in impeding the implementation of the resolutions on Namibia adopted by various United Nations bodies and the continuing use of its Territory to carry out acts of aggression against neighbouring States, which seriously endangers the stability, peace and security of the region and is a direct threat to international peace and security, in flagrant violation of the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. The failure to implement United Nations resolutions is one reason for the increasing turbulence in southern Africa.

116. South Africa's actions in avoiding implementation of United Nations resolutions have been unanimously condemned by the international community. This became particularly clear when it tried unilaterally to set up a provisional government in Namibia in 1985, which forced the Security Council to adopt resolution 566 (1985) and to urge States to refrain from recognizing any régime that South Africa might try to set up in defiance of the relevant resolutions of the Council and the General Assembly.

117. Guatemala joins the international community in its efforts and supports the Secretary-General in his endeavours to accelerate the process leading to the genuine and internationally recognized independence of Namibia. We join in the demand that the unlawful occupation of Namibia be brought to an end forthwith, that urgent action be taken to bring about the immediate implementation, without preconditions, of the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia embodied Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), which is the sole internationally recognized basis for the peaceful settlement of the question. We support the measures adopted by the United Nations in defence of the inalienable rights of the Namibian people to self-determination and national independence and, in keeping with the principles of democracy, to establish, by means of free elections, its own Government, thus ensuring the establishment of a pluralist, democratic and independent society that will guarantee the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

118. The solution of the problem of Namibia and the eradication of the odious system of *apartheid* are inescapable priorities for the international community. This will justify once again our faith in the ability of the Organization to produce suitable solutions that guarantee international stability, peace and security.

119. Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country will duly congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the General Assembly at its forty-first session. But I cannot resist the urge to express my delegation's pleasure at seeing you preside over this session, since you represent a country bound to mine by ties of respect and friendship.

120. The General Assembly has convened once again in special session to consider the question of Namibia, 20 years after the adoption of its resolution terminating South Africa's Mandate over Namibia [*resolution 2145 (XXI)*]. This is made necessary by the special responsibility for that Territory borne by the United Nations on the basis of the following: first, Article 77 of the Charter of the United Nations, which confers on the Organization responsibility for that country as a Non-Self-Governing Territory; secondly, Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) by which South Africa's Mandate over Namibia was terminated; thirdly, Assembly resolution 2248 (S-V) by which the United Nations Council for Namibia as the legal Administering Authority of that Territory until it gains independence was established, and, fourthly, the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, of 21 June 1971,¹ which confirmed the termination of South Africa's Mandate over Namibia and transferred responsibility for that Territory to the United Nations.

Mr. Türkmen (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

121. In view of that responsibility, several United Nations organs have adopted resolutions aimed at enabling the people of Namibia to exercise its right to self-determination and to establish its independent State. In this context, Security Council resolution 435 (1978) has particular significance. It established a reasonable practical basis for a peaceful settlement of the question under the supervision of the United Nations, which lies in the withdrawal of South African forces and free elections in which all parties in the Territory would participate. Yet the racist Pretoria régime persists in defying the United Nations, rejecting its resolutions and insisting on bolstering its racist and colonialist régime in the Territory.

122. The situation in Namibia is peculiar. The Territory is not only subjected to illegal alien colonialism but it is dominated by a colonialist régime that pursues a policy of racial discrimination, which increases the suffering of the people of Namibia.

123. Despite the consensus of the international community as represented in this Organization that independence should be granted to the Territory, the régime in South Africa continues to rebel against the international will. Hence we find that the controversy

that exists today centres on how to make that régime compatible with the international will.

124. As diplomatic and political initiatives of all parties to persuade that régime to abandon its policies have been exhausted, the only remaining option now open to the States Members of the Organization is to invoke the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

125. We believe that the racist South African Government has found it feasible to rebel against the international will because of certain loopholes created by the positions of some Western countries which continue to act out of self-interest.

126. Past experience leads my delegation to doubt that the Government of South Africa will respond positively to the United Nations unless it finds itself faced with the severe pressure which would arise from the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. That is why my country has chosen this year to support all draft resolutions submitted to the Security Council calling for mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria régime.

127. We are fully convinced that that is the only option left open to the international community. We therefore hope that those countries that remain hesitant in that regard will respond and join us in order to save the Territory from the evils of racism and colonialism and enable its people to participate in the building of a world of peace and stability.

128. Mr. DELPECH (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We should be grateful, Sir, if you would extend to the President our warmest congratulations on his election to preside over the forty-first session by the General Assembly. We wish him every success in his sensitive task.

129. The Minister of External Relations of Argentina had intended to make this statement himself, but for reasons beyond his control he cannot be present. It is therefore my honour to read out the following statement on his behalf:

"Mr. President, first of all I should like to express our warmest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of this special session. Your well known diplomatic skill and personal qualities guarantee the success of our work.

"I am participating in this debate for two reasons. On the one hand, we reaffirm the unswerving solidarity of the Argentine Republic with the Namibian people throughout their long, just struggle for self-determination and independence. On the other hand, together with our colleagues from Latin America, Asia and Africa, we represent the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, whose eighth summit conference conferred upon us the honour of making known here the views of its 101 member countries.

"I should like to point out that Argentina's position entirely coincides with that of the Movement. However, we wish to refer to each aspect of our position separately.

“My Government’s policy regarding the question of Namibia is widely known since it has been set forth time and again in this and in other international forums. The Argentine Republic strongly supports the exercise by the Namibian people of its inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and resolutions of the General Assembly.

“Consistent with that, Argentina unreservedly condemns the continuing occupation of the Territory by the racist régime of South Africa, and we support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO against this state of affairs.

“Like the overwhelming majority of countries represented here, we hold that until genuine self-determination and independence are achieved, Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations. In exercise of this responsibility the Organization has adopted the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, which is embodied in Security Council resolution 435 (1978). All the parties concerned are duty-bound to implement that plan immediately and faithfully. It is unacceptable that South Africa should delay any further or set conditions unrelated to Namibia for the implementation of the resolution. In addition, any settlement regarding the future of the Territory that does not include supervision by the Organization and that is not within the context of United Nations decisions will be unacceptable. The constitutional and political plans and the internal arrangements advocated by South Africa for Namibia behind the General Assembly’s back are null and void, as has been stated clearly by the Assembly.

“It should be repeated that Pretoria’s manoeuvres, to which I have referred, are only absurd, dangerous manifestations of geopolitics through which, by its indefinite illegal occupation of Namibia, it seeks to preserve and prolong the *apartheid* régime in South Africa itself. It is the duty of the international community to see to it that this retrograde system fails.

“Quite rightly, the General Assembly has repeatedly asserted that the policies of the Government of South Africa are an affront to the universal conscience. Such conduct deserves our most vigorous condemnation. Of course, the damage inflicted by racism and South African expansionism is not confined to the moral sphere. The intrinsic violence in Pretoria’s policies is fraught with serious consequences for peace and security in southern Africa, not only because of the reaction it provokes in those who are its most direct victims but also because South Africa uses Namibia as a springboard for aggression against other States.

“All these circumstances fully justify the imposition of broad, binding sanctions against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations. The Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, must adopt such measures promptly, for they have long been sought

by the international community and are fully justified given the current situation in southern Africa. Once again we appeal to all the members of the Security Council to ensure that that body assumes its responsibilities.

“The lack of action by the Security Council in the face of the serious conflicts in southern Africa must not stand in the way of States individually adopting unilateral measures, thus increasing effective international pressure on Pretoria. In this connection and considering the adoption over the past few years of a series of measures designed to isolate the Pretoria régime, my Government, on 22 May last, broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa. That was not only a concrete expression of our repudiation of *apartheid*, the unlawful occupation of Namibia and South Africa’s aggression against the front-line States, but also the expression of our renewed and increasingly unwavering solidarity with the heroic struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples. Similarly, we plan to support the draft resolutions which will be presented to this special session for consideration.

“Finally, I should like to express Argentina’s firm support for the United Nations Council for Namibia. The work of the Council, under the expert guidance of Mr. Paul Lusaka, has contributed to promoting international recognition of the Namibian people. In our opinion, the Council is an indispensable instrument that can give concrete expression to the policies of the General Assembly regarding Namibia.

“The Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held two weeks ago at Harare, conferred upon some of us the high honour of making known here the position of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on this subject. The Conference was held on the very boundary of the struggle against *apartheid* and the unlawful occupation of Namibia. The Heads of State or Government were in an ideal position to judge the serious situation in southern Africa which has been created as a result of South Africa’s policies. The paragraphs of the Political Declaration, devoted to Namibia,⁵ graphically reflect the serious concern of the Movement regarding the growing deterioration of the situation in the area and represent an urgent appeal for effective joint action by the international community against South Africa. Specifically, the Heads of State or Government reiterated very firmly and in detail the traditional position of the Movement on this subject. They also expressed their solidarity with and support for the legitimate struggle of the Namibian people for self-determination and independence, under the leadership of SWAPO, its sole, legitimate representative. When they vigorously condemned the South African régime and its refusal to implement the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, the Heads of State or Government reiterated their appeal to the Security Council immediately to adopt and impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Pretoria under Chapter VII of the Charter. At the same time they called upon those countries most closely bound to South Africa to promote the actions of the Security Council on this subject. The

Heads of State or Government also rejected any attempt to link the independence of Namibia to extraneous issues. Furthermore, they endorsed the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia and the Programme of Action on Namibia,⁴ adopted by the International Conference at Vienna last July.

“Finally, entirely consistent with the philosophy which inspired the very birth of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Heads of State or Government rejected all attempts to introduce elements of the East–West conflict into the question of Namibia.

“The special attention devoted by the eighth summit Conference to the question of Namibia serves only to emphasize the urgency and importance of this item on the international agenda. A speedy and appropriate settlement of this serious conflict, in conformity with the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, is vital if we are to restore morality, peace and security in southern Africa.

“In this context I wish to reiterate the firm solidarity of the people and the Government of Argentina with the peoples who, in South Africa and Namibia, are struggling to establish free, egalitarian and democratic societies in their respective countries.”

130. Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): If we are brief in saluting the President on this occasion it is only to his plea for brevity and efficiency that we respond and not to the copious abundance of good will and satisfaction that we experience with regard to his well-deserved election. We pledge our co-operation and wish him outstanding success in the execution of his arduous task during the coming year.

131. We are taking the floor pursuant to the decision taken at the African summit and that of the non-aligned countries, that each subregion of Africa should be heard on this issue, perhaps the most emotional politico-economic issue of our times. Hence the participation of the Republic of Cameroon, a State in Central Africa, in the deliberations of this special session.

132. We consider it important to remind ourselves of the central motive for this special session, the second major international meeting on the question of Namibia in one calendar year. The specific purpose of this session makes these deliberations distinct from the general debates on the question of Namibia which take place at the regular session.

133. The General Assembly, at its commemorative fortieth session, took stock of the successes and failures by which this generation may be judged. It assessed the extent to which had been realized the aspirations and the hopes of those who, appalled by the horrors of war and conflict, bequeathed to us the Charter of the United Nations. The universal indignation at the dangerous situation in southern Africa was unequivocally clear. The tyranny underlying the shocking increase of violence and senseless deaths in southern Africa astounded each one of us.

134. The use of human and natural resources for destructive rather than constructive purposes; the persistence of the Pretoria régime in its diabolical ideology and its lack of respect for human dignity; the clear defiance by that régime of all laws and of the rules of morality and decency; the equally clear demonstration of the unwillingness, not so much the incapacity, of a number of important governments or States to work towards the common goal of removing the reactionaries of South Africa from the shelves on which they seem filed away from civilization; the worsening situation in southern Africa, in which South African nationals now prefer to die in their struggle for freedom rather than to continue to be enslaved, and in which poor peace-loving Namibians must needlessly shed precious blood for freedom; the positions of the desperate racists who, unashamed to scoff at the rest of mankind, would use blackmail and link to the independence of Namibia extraneous issues, which cannot be justified morally or legally; the paradoxical situation in which sovereign Angola is prevented from undergoing its development in peace—these are the concerns that motivated this special session.

135. We did not convene this special session in order to repeat the sad story of Namibia’s colonial history. The General Assembly is not invited to justify or to make a case for Namibia’s independence or for the right of the heroic people of Namibia to self-determination. We have heard the opinion of eminent jurists, supported by the International Court of Justice and sustained by universal political sentiments. We have heard the indisputable truth.

136. We did not have to come here to repeat what Namibians and the press have told us about the bloodshed and the sufferings of the Namibian people and the conflicts that result. Africa, which is the region the most concerned with the conflict in Namibia, has told the world, from many forums, where the shoe pinches the most. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of the Congo, speaking on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU, echoed these sentiments during the present debate [*1st meeting*].

137. The people of Namibia look to this special session for something new, something special, something that reassures them in their struggle, reassures the struggling masses and the freedom-fighters in southern Africa as a whole, that the international community has been so aroused and feels such an increased sense of outrage that it truly means to bring an end to the illegal occupation, immorality, murder, defiance of decency and all the plagues that the system of *apartheid* causes.

138. We must not fail them. We cannot afford to fail them. Every sign of complacency encourages the enemy of peace and prolongs war. Each resolution that is not action-oriented creates the illusion that time is on the side of the occupation forces.

139. We must seriously explore practical ways of making our contribution, not to a protracted struggle which involves loss of human life and diminishes the chances of rebuilding Namibia on the basis of multi-racial harmony, but in meeting the needs and aiding the plans of those who themselves struggle.

140. None of the members of the General Assembly can claim the right to prescribe what is best for the Namibian people. They know far more than anyone else the strong sense of outrage, of frustration, of desperation they feel and the uphill task they undertake in trying to move their nation away from the evil that causes their predicament to worsen and makes them even more susceptible to domination.

141. Let us consider a course of action for States Members of the Organization to save our peoples in southern Africa from the scourge of war which today, in the last quarter of the twentieth century, is causing them and, in fact, the entire continent of Africa untold suffering. Our resolutions should inspire confidence in the cause of the Namibian people and a determination to arrive at a solution of the problem. In this way our brothers and sisters in Namibia, the desperate Blacks and the progressive whites, would be reassured of our unwavering solidarity with them.

142. The peoples of all nations are openly manifesting their deep-rooted indignation against *apartheid* and the armed aggression against the Namibian people. Africa has welcomed this renewed display of solidarity and expressions of sympathy. The responses of many important national legislatures have been heart-warming and encouraging to those who bear the brunt of deprivation and oppression.

143. The interest of peoples and legislatures across the globe must be matched by an inspired political will on the part of all governments. It must be clearly reflected in the resolutions we adopt here.

144. Let us not destroy Namibia with worthless decisions and compromises in this forum. The central issue is not the language of our choice, it is the substance of our resolve. Namibia, South Africa, Angola and the neighbouring States love peace and desire no more than what all of us, rich or poor, seek for the development of our nations. Brother Robert Mugabe and the Zimbabwean peoples, black, white and coloured, are engaged in a wonderful undertaking of nation-building which vividly demonstrates a fitting alternative for southern Africa. In the seats reserved for Zimbabwe in the General Assembly Hall, we see both whites and Blacks co-operating in the same delegation.

145. Our decisions here must respond to the fundamental and critical need to stop the process of warfare and commence the peaceful resolution of the conflict between SWAPO and the Pretoria régime. This is perhaps easier said than done. The Secretary-General has been generously willing to play his role to promote the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). He has reported that all outstanding issues were resolved when agreement was reached on the electoral system in November 1985.⁸

146. What then blocks the exercise of free choice? The Pretoria régime remains the principal obstacle. It is that obstacle that we must address, avoiding irrelevant side issues that becloud our debate on strategy.

147. We feel that the following steps are inevitably of critical importance at this stage and could form the basis of the final decision of this special session.

148. Pressure must be intensified to compel the Pretoria régime to remove the obstacles it has created. This can be achieved by taking the following steps.

149. First, the capacity of the Namibians themselves to resist and discourage armed aggression should be reinforced. The Namibians have never requested men and women or non-nationals; they ask for material aid. This must be given in sufficient quantity and must be of adequate quality. That is not an illegal activity; for international law recognizes the right of colonized peoples to seek and to receive such aid in their struggle for freedom, as indicated in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV), annex*]. In this case, such assistance will increase the pressure on the Pretoria régime. We appeal to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world to join in that effort by making a substantial contribution to the war effort.

150. Secondly, economic and other sanctions should be imposed against the régime. The scope of such sanctions has been defined by previous speakers, and I do not wish to go into it now. No one need be holier than thou, as the expression goes. Nor should anyone pretend to be when it comes to determining the lasting interests of the peoples. SWAPO, the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, considers this to be an appropriate weapon, and that is a critical point. No Government can justify resisting the imposition of sanctions for the unconvincing reason that they would further hurt people who are so severely deprived that they prefer death to the servile conditions under which they presently live.

151. Thirdly, we must consciously and openly equip the front-line States with better defence capabilities and with increased food supplies for their own inhabitants and for refugees living in those States.

152. Finally all States, especially those convinced about the need to terminate bloodshed and grant Namibia its freedom, should make a commitment to apply all the pressure at their command—forbidding the use of their territory, airspace and ports by South Africa and ceasing all trade with it.

153. Those measures would work. The reported commencement of an exodus from South Africa of white experts and intellectuals and the return of a significant number of whites to Zimbabwe demonstrate that sanctions and pressure are already working—but not fast enough. If those measures are exerted, the racist régime in Pretoria will concede that Security Council resolution 435 (1978), which it tacitly endorsed eight years ago, should be implemented.

154. For the rest, we must examine our consciences. Each nation must weigh the narrow interests of today against the broader interests of peace in a truly secure

Africa. Victory will come, sooner than later. Future generations will note who our real friends were.

155. The General Assembly must cease to exhibit its expertise in repetitive analysis and the unproductive apportionment of blame. The deprived peoples of Namibia and the rest of southern Africa can no longer be impressed by resolutions that repeat condemnations, most of which are selective and hide the contributory acts of some who vote in favour of them. Those peoples know who collaborates with Pretoria. They know better than we do the state of the things that we describe in our resolutions. They know which Member States, unnamed in those resolutions, associate with Pretoria not out of necessity imposed by colonial history but out of sheer shameless profit motives.

156. SWAPO and our brothers and sisters know too well the long list of those who exploit the resources of Namibia, on land as well as within the exclusive economic zone. What then is the relevance to this desperate name-calling, which only provides a convenient excuse for the hardening of unhelpful positions?

157. Furthermore, the air has been polluted by irrelevancies ranging from ideological differences among the powerful nations to the linkage of issues extraneous to the independence of Namibia and the comparison between *apartheid* and racism as it exists elsewhere. The Pretoria régime is the real beneficiary of such considerations, which drown the central issues of the freedom of Namibia and the withdrawal of occupation forces from the Territory. We must avoid holding Angola and the other front-line States hostage in order to please Pretoria and in deference to issues foreign to their national interests in disarmament, security and development. Money now spent on war and destruction in the sub-region could well produce model nations with a quality of life unrivalled anywhere.

158. There can be no better way of achieving early peace than to implement resolutions which have enjoyed universal consensus. Pretoria must be bullied into acceptance. The Security Council gave a good lead by adopting its resolution 435 (1978). That important body must keep in mind its historic function and play its critical role. The Council assembles the most effective Powers of the world, namely the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France and China. Other Council members are supportive. Let them provide leadership now. Let not blood flow to stain the glowing achievements of our generation in science and technology.

159. We strongly appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union—two great nations born in revolution against injustice and out of concern for their peoples' welfare. We appeal to them to put aside their differences when dealing with the question of Namibia and the situation in southern Africa. Their leadership is crucial at this time.

160. We call on the United Kingdom, France and China to exert their influence since they too are champions of national revolutions and the creators of historic documents of freedom and justice.

161. We appeal to all nations and peoples to contribute to the pressure that will help all of Africa to be free, so that all of us—especially Namibia, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia—can utilize our God-given resources for construction rather than destruction, for contributing to the much desired world peace and security.

162. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the Government of Bolivia I reaffirm once again our full support for the independence of the people of Namibia and for the territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay. I reaffirm too our recognition of SWAPO which, in accordance with the decision of the people itself, and with various decisions and resolutions of the competent bodies of the United Nations, is the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

163. We once again express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his good nature and his unconditional service to the cause of Namibia's independence. We also thank the United Nations Council for Namibia for its untiring efforts to carry out the mandate given it by the General Assembly.

164. I do not need to reiterate Bolivia's constant support for the front-line States in facing South African aggression, nor need I refer again to our rejection of *apartheid*. Aggression and *apartheid* are two South African practices that my Government strongly condemns.

165. The General Assembly at its fortieth session [*resolution 40/97 F*] decided to hold this special session to consider the continued non-implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). It stated that the international community was indignant at the non-implementation of the resolution and it strongly condemned South Africa for its persistent and arrogant defiance of the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations.

166. It is thus clear that at this special session the Assembly's mandate is to solve the question of Namibia once and for all, through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and all the other relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, and through the implementation of the Declaration of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, and the Programme of Action on Namibia,⁴ adopted by the Conference held in July this year at Vienna under the auspices of the United Nations.

167. Hence, the General Assembly must adopt decisions making it possible to overcome the stalemate in the implementation of resolution 435 (1978). I emphasize that what I have in mind is a solution and not merely further condemnations, expressions of indignation and lamentations. Rhetoric has no place here. The international community's patience has run out. The Assembly must break this deadlock by conferring a clear mandate on the Secretary-General. The mandate must be operational and capable of being implemented immediately.

168. We believe that the draft resolution contained in document A/S-14/L.1 is insufficient. It should

envisage a clearer mandate for the Secretary-General, in order to put an end to the present stalemate.

169. My delegation formally proposes to the General Assembly that it give the Secretary-General a specific, categorical mandate to begin immediately the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). That would be in keeping also with the decision taken at the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

170. It might be argued that this mandate is already implicit in resolution 435 (1978) and that the Secretary-General is prepared to carry it out. But, as he has repeatedly said, the Government of South Africa has refused to co-operate; on the contrary, it has insisted on linking its participation to matters unrelated to the decisions of the Security Council. In this connection, it must be made clear that in its resolution 539 (1983) the Security Council rejected any linkage of irrelevant and extraneous issues to the independence of Namibia as being incompatible with resolution 435 (1978). The Council repeated that the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, embodied in oft-cited resolution 435 (1978) must be implemented.

171. Hence, we must re-examine resolution 435 (1978) in order to supplement it with the operational machinery necessary for its immediate implementation. The absence of such machinery hampered the early implementation of the resolution. The machinery would make it possible to put into effect the substantive and procedural provisions contained in the resolution.

172. The Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), decided that the proposal⁹ designed to achieve Namibia's independence should be implemented, and reiterated that its objective was the withdrawal of the illegal administration of South Africa from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia, with the assistance of the United Nations. The Council decided also to establish a United Nations Transition Assistance Group which, in keeping with the mandate laid down in Security Council resolution 431 (1978), would render the necessary assistance. Finally, it called upon South Africa to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978), and declared that all the measures adopted by the Government of South Africa in relation to the electoral process, in contravention of resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and 435 (1978) were null and void.

173. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) is clear. It decides that the Secretary-General must carry out the mandate and calls on South Africa to co-operate. It does not recognize or prescribe any right of veto by South Africa. Thus, in my delegation's opinion, the General Assembly must give the Secretary-General a categorical mandate to implement resolution 435 (1978), with or without the co-operation of the South African Government. The Charter of the United Nations stipulates that the decisions of the Security Council are binding on all States. South Africa must accept the resolution. If it chooses to co-operate, so much the better. If it does not, that cannot be taken

as a right to veto or impede the implementation of the resolution.

174. Let me repeat that my proposal is that the General Assembly should come out in favour of a clear, specific mandate to the Secretary-General to implement resolution 435 (1978), without taking into account in any way South Africa's opinions or decisions. For, as resolution 435 (1978) itself states, those opinions and decisions are illegal and null and void. In other words, South Africa has no right to oppose the implementation of the resolution.

175. It might be argued that, although South Africa has no rights in this matter, it does occupy the Territory, and that occupation confers power upon it. In this connection, the General Assembly must be very clear. The competent bodies of the United Nations have already stated their views on this question. The General Assembly has on a number of occasions stated that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal and illegitimate. The International Court of Justice has rendered an opinion that South Africa has no valid title to Namibia and that its occupation of Namibian territory is illegal and in violation of the international obligations by which it must abide. There is no need to dwell on the various Security Council resolutions that have established the illegality of South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

176. Since that occupation, although illegal and illegitimate, is a fact, the General Assembly must give the Secretary-General the operational instrument necessary to deal with it. My delegation proposes that the Assembly decide to establish a United Nations operational force for Namibia, which should proceed to occupy the Territory as soon as possible so that the Secretary-General can implement Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Once that operational force takes control of the Territory, its units can be transferred to UNTAG.

177. To that end, the Secretary-General must propose to the Assembly as soon as possible the elements that are needed to establish this operational force, which would come under his authority. Member States should make available to the Secretary-General the military units necessary to constitute the operational force, in keeping with the terms and conditions that the Secretary-General himself would submit to the Assembly for approval.

178. At its first emergency special session, in November 1956, the General Assembly decided to create the first emergency international United Nations Force. It did so because of the veto exercised in the Security Council by two permanent members which had tried to prevent the creation of the Force through normal channels.

179. Today the situation is different. The Security Council is in agreement about Namibia's immediate independence, as it has repeated in a number of resolutions and as is specifically stated in resolution 435 (1978). By creating such an operational force, in the exercise of its own authority, the Assembly would be contributing to the implementation of that resolution and thus supplementing the actions of the Security Council.

180. It might be argued that in 1956 the key factor in the establishment by the Assembly of the emergency force was the consent of the Government of the country where it would operate; Egypt's consent made possible the creation of the Force. It should be made clear that the Government of Egypt exercised unchallenged authority over its own territory.

181. We are dealing with a different case now. The Territory of Namibia is occupied illegally, unjustly and unlawfully. South Africa has no rights over the Territory, and consequently there is no need to obtain consent from South Africa. Consent from the Government of Egypt was one of the requirements for the establishment of the Force in 1956. It is unnecessary to enumerate once again the legal instruments that make it clear that South Africa has no right to speak for Namibia and that its actions are null and void. Therefore, the Assembly should decide to create an operational force to establish in Namibian territory the authority of the United Nations to implement its plan for Namibia's independence, in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

182. To sum up, this special session must give the Secretary-General a mandate to implement the plan immediately, and it must call on him to report as soon as possible on ways and means to set up an operational force to establish his authority over Namibia through the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978)—with or without South Africa's consent.

183. It has been reiterated at this session that the United Nations must act effectively and efficiently and not merely as a forum for sterile debate. It is up to this special session to show the world that the United Nations is useful to mankind, that Namibia's liberation and independence represent a just cause for the international community, testing the mettle and decisiveness of all Member States.

184. Both the General Assembly and the Security Council have many times pronounced themselves in favour of Namibia's independence. Now is the time for deeds, not words. South Africa had eight years to co-operate with the Secretary-General, but chose not to do so. Today we must tell South Africa that our patience has run out and that Namibia's independence will become a reality, because the Namibian people wish it and the international community has decided to respect and support that desire of the Namibian people, represented by SWAPO.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

NOTES

¹*Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970). Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

²*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-first Session, Supplement No. 1.*

³Alfred T. Moleah, *Namibia: The Struggle for Liberation* (United States, Library of Congress, 1983), p. 272.

⁴*See Report of the International Conference for the Immediate Independence of Namibia, Vienna, 7–11 July 1986* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.86.I.16 and addendum).

⁵See the final documents of the Eighth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Harare from 1 to 6 September 1986 (A/41/697, annex).

⁶A/40/307 and Corr. 1, annex, sect. III.

⁷*Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fifth Session, Supplement No. 24, vol. I, annex II.*

⁸*See Official Records of the Security Council, Fortieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1985, document S/17658.*

⁹*Ibid., Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.*